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The Rivers of the Potters

The St-Charles and Cap-Rouge Potteries in the Late Nineteenth Century

Helen H. Lambart
Edited by Jennifer Arcand

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Contents

Résumé	vi
Summary	vii
Biographical Note	viii
Introduction	1
Smolenski, Mederschein and Their Tile-Stoves	3
The Bells' Pottery and the Yamaska Offshoot	7
The Dions of Ancienne Lorette and Hobson's Pottery	13
Trial and Error at Cap-Rouge	18
Notes	23

Résumé

La brève histoire documentaire des ateliers de poterie qui prospérèrent dans la région de Québec durant la seconde moitié du dix-neuvième siècle, se fonde principalement sur la richesse des archives notariales de la province. L'une des particularités de cette industrie, très peu connue au Canada, est la fabrication de poêles en terre-cuite. Elle était florissante sous Joseph Smolenski et, plus tard, sous Charles Mederschein, entre 1840 et 1880. Le long de la rivière St-Charles, la firme de W. et D. Bell produisit des pièces durant 75 ans. Elle utilisait les argiles rouges des environs pour la poterie et la terre à pipe britannique pour la fabrication de ses fameuses pipes. D'autres établissements se groupaient sur les mêmes rives, tels celui des Dion de l'Ancienne-Lorette et la poterie Hobson, à Ste-Angèle. L'atelier installé à Cap-Rouge, en 1860, n'a jamais atteint le succès commercial dont avaient rêvé ses fondateurs.

Summary

This brief documentary history of those potteries which flourished in the Quebec City area in the latter half of the nineteenth century is based primarily on the rich notarial archives of the province. One little known aspect of pottery making in Canada is the production of tile-stoves—this small industry bloomed under Joseph Smolenski and later Charles Mederschein between 1840 and 1880. On the St-Charles River the firm of W. and D. Bell was active for 75 years, using the local red-burning clays for their pottery and British pipe clay for their famous tobacco pipes. Other potteries in the St-Charles valley included that of the Dions at Ancienne Lorette and Hobson's Pottery at Ste-Angèle. At Cap-Rouge, the pottery founded there in 1860 never realized the commercial success dreamed of by the founders.

Biographical Note

Miss Helen H. Lambart, a graduate of McGill in Political Science and Economics, lives in Grenville, Quebec in an old house that she has had restored. The early potters of Quebec first attracted her a number of years ago and she has written on the subject for the National and Historic Parks Branch as well as the Museum of Man. Miss Lambart is a pioneer in the extensive use of Quebec judicial records for research into the material culture of the province. Mrs. Jennifer Arcand who edited the manuscript is a graduate in English of McMaster University and the University of New Brunswick and has taught English at the latter.

Introduction

Documentary evidence has not yet been given sufficient attention in the rapidly growing body of commentary on nineteenth-century Canadian ceramics. Yet documentation is essential if the commentary is to remain valid. Further deduction can only blur the outline of a study too often built on the shifting ground of oral tradition. This brief documentary history is based primarily on the rich notarial archives of the province of Quebec. It offers thus a verifiable outline of those potteries which flourished in the Quebec City area in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Pottery was never a major industry in the Quebec City area. Before 1850 the market centred on imported crockery and brownware flooding in from England and Scotland. A few of the old French potter-families had survived into the nineteenth century, working near the banks of the St-Charles River which because of its surface clay has been the river of the potters since the earliest days of French Canada. By 1825 only a half dozen were still working as potters and they were primarily located in St-Roch: on Ste-Marguerite Street (where Alexis Cloutier was a potter as late as 1831) and on St-Valier Street, where as late as 1842 Jean-Baptiste and François Poitras, and Jos. Bélanger and Jean-Baptiste Belanger were listed as potters.[1] Most of these potteries were probably destroyed in the St-Roch fire of May 28, 1845 which wiped out all of Ste-Marguerite Street and both sides of St-Valier Street from its commencement below the city walls as far west as Dorchester.

But the fires of this period stimulated the demand for brick and other fireproof building materials. Some of the old potters survived. New potters began work. Joseph Smolenski and Charles Mederschein both worked on this same St-Valier Street. But what interests us most in their work is something entirely new, something hitherto totally neglected by collectors and researchers alike: the production in Canada in the nineteenth century of tile-stoves.

The possibilities of translating the European tile-stove to Canadian use were envisaged by the Hon. Chief Justice Jonathan Sewell in his 1831 address [2] to the Quebec Literary and Historical Society:

> The Russians and the people in the north of Germany are liable to the effects of as great a degree of cold as we are in Lower Canada, and they have, for a series of years, endeavoured to obtain the greatest quantity of heat from the smallest possible expenditure of fuel.

To illustrate what had been developed with this economical aim, the Chief Justice presented a model of the type of small portable stove commonly used in a peasant house in Russia: a small iron oven, surrounded on three sides by a wall of brick or tile.

> Between the walls and the exterior of the oven there is a space, into which the common air of the room is admitted through apertures which are placed in the brick wall on the level of the hearth; it there mixes with the heat which it imbibes from the oven, and becoming sufficiently rarefied ascends through the pipes, which are placed in the arched covering of brick, to the top of the room, from whence it is diffused through the whole apartment or carried into other apartments at the option of the owner. The smoke descends from the interior of the oven into a flue which surrounds it and passing through the flue, ascends and escapes by a chimney.

To demonstrate the variations possible in this simple heating method, Chief Justice Sewell included in his presentation to the society two drawings showing a larger type of built-in stove, to be placed either centred against one wall or in the corner of a room (to warm the room adjoining). These stoves operated on a slightly modified principle. Instead of heating the current of air which passed through the stove, they were

> designed to warm the circumambient air within the room by heat imbibed by the air from the *exterior* of the stove, and for this purpose they are lofty, and the flame, heat and smoke are made to circulate through several flues which are formed within the stove, before they are suffered to escape by the chimney, in which there is a regulator, to be nearly closed when there is no smoke, as in a common stove.

Both types of stove required a brick base.

The principle seemed sound enough and easily adaptable to Canadian conditions. Whether it could prove commercially viable in Canada was another question. No one seems to have pounced on the idea at first, but in 1838 Joseph Smolenski, a Polish immigrant who had arrived in Quebec four years earlier, [3] formed a partnership with a Quebec merchant, Charles Gillespie, [4] and began to advertise tile-stoves.

A patent for the construction of a "new and useful stove" had been issued on November 7, 1837 to John Vannovous who three days later transferred all rights to Smolenski. [5] This stove, new only to the Canadian market, was a traditional *Kachelofen* as described by Sewell, but softened somewhat with ornamental mouldings and a cornice. It stood some six feet high from its oblong base with the heat from its tile walls spreading out to warm the area in which it stood. Sales began in the summer of 1838, and the initial models were warmly endorsed by the editor of *Le Fantasque*, Nicolas Aubin, who praised Smolenski's stoves for their pleasant design and economical use of fuel. [6]

By September 26 Smolenski felt secure enough to advertise in *Le Canadien* for two or three apprentices to learn the art of making "Russian" stoves, and to negotiate a loan, guaranteed by Gillespie, from another prominent Quebec merchant, Giovanni Dominico Balzaretti, to help finance his expanding business. [7] The first few years were relatively successful. The tiles were being imported at this time and stored in the warehouses of Tremain, White and Co., [8] although

Smolenski had rented a house for their manufacture in May of 1838.

In September 1839 Smolenski landed a major contract for the installation of four Russian stoves in the basilica of Quebec—two large stoves to warm the main body of the church and two smaller stoves for the chapels. They were to be stoves of the finest quality, similar to those already constructed by Smolenski in Quebec's "salle d'audience." The parish was responsible for constructing both the brick foundations and the floor-level platforms and on these Smolenski set iron fire boxes (two and a half feet high for the bigger stoves) and then built his fine tile walls in four horizontal sections. The tiles were fastened with metal, and brass doors complemented the ornamented cornices.[9] The result was pleasing and the curé of the parish proved willing to lend his name to a subsequent advertising campaign, even going so far as to offer to answer queries and to funnel orders from other parishes to Smolenski.[10]

It was valuable help at this time since production had been disrupted by a dispute within the firm. In April 1840, apparently during Smolenski's absence from Quebec, Gillespie sold the business to Benjamin Tremain, giving Tremain, White and Co. the right to assemble the stoves "now in their possession."[11] On April 27 an advertisement appeared in *The Quebec Gazette* announcing an auction sale of 34 Russian tile-stoves and 20 register grates at the stores of Tremain, White and Co. in St-Paul Street.

Competing thus with his own products, Smolenski took a few months to reorganize. In November he formed a new partnership, this time with Napoleon Balzaretti, son of his earlier financial backer. Their agreement covered the importation and construction of Russian stoves, with Balzaretti investing his funds in return for a half share in the enterprise.[12] Importation of an assortment of stoves was resumed immediately. November and December advertisements urged customers to specify their exact requirements before a January deadline set for a new order from Europe. But Smolenski was by now more interested in importing trained workmen from Europe to enlarge the scope of his Quebec manufacture than in importing the finished product. On June 14, 1841 he was able to announce in *Le Canadien* and *Le Fantasque* the opening at number 99 St-Valier Street of an establishment for the complete manufacture of stoves using the skills of a corps of experienced Polish potters. In March 1841 two contracts had been signed in Europe. One executed at Danzig covered the employment of Friedrich Popp, potter of Danzig, who undertook to make stoves in the Russian mode, to prepare the required materials and to direct the workmen in the construction of the furnaces and in the making of pots, dishes and other earthenware. The second contract, executed at Hamburg, covered the employment of journeymen potters A. Heydyn, Karl Mederschein and Stanislaw Kwasniewski for a period of four years from the date of their arrival in Quebec.[13]

With this skilled nucleus of workmen and with continued local support, especially from the enthusiastic Aubin,[14] the enterprise bloomed. On September 27, 1841 an advertisement in *Le Canadien* invited customers to examine the specimen stove on display in the Balzaretti auction rooms or to inspect the manufacture itself before placing their orders. A leading editorial in *Le Fantasque* in November fulsomely praised the beauty and elegance of these Canadian products and indicated that the

business was now solidly established.[15] Some attempt was made to diversify in order to reach a wider market. "La Compagnie des Poêles Russes" added an assortment of flower vases, "recouverts d'un vernis vitrifié," to its advertised wares and *Le Fantasque* of June 9, 1842 noted that eight new workmen, hired in Europe, had arrived to live and work at the manufacturing plant on St-Valier Street. A dozen Canadian workmen joined them, "moulant, battant, vernissant."[16]

The firm's rapid growth had won it a reputation locally, but the use of tile-stoves had not become widespread in Canada. In February 1843, when the editor of *The British American Cultivator* in Toronto published an article advocating the introduction of Russian stoves into Canada, two Quebec newspapers (*Le Canadien* of March 22 and *Le Fantasque* of March 24) rushed to straighten out the record, to show that a Quebec firm had already successfully introduced such a stove. They quoted testimonials from such satisfied customers as the curé of the cathedral at Quebec, the secretary to the Bishop of Montreal, Hon. D.B. Viger of Montreal, lawyer E.A. Dubois of Montreal, William Petry and J. Duval of Quebec, all affirming the value and quality of Smolenski's stoves. Smolenski had reason to feel this proud defence was justified. His list of customers was growing and propects seemed bright.[17]

In the autumn of 1843 the Balzaretti family faced a financial crisis and "La Compagnie des Poêles Russes" was revised to permit lawyer Narcisse Constantin Faucher to take over one half of Balzaretti's interest in the firm.[18] A year later, Smolenski took out a new patent to cover a modification of his original tile-stove and a new combination, adding cooking apparatus to the basic calorific stove.[19] But he was beginning to lose interest in his own product. He could see new possibilities in exploiting the growing demand for building brick and other fireproof materials. After Quebec's two disastrous fires of May 28 and June 28, 1845, this demand was intensified. Smolenski wasted no time. In July he formed a partnership with his close supporter Nicolas Aubin (who seems to have invented a machine for pressing or forming the brick).[20] They acquired land on the Île d'Orléans and financial backing, and by the 22nd of the month, they were using *Le Journal de Québec* to advertise brick, roofing tiles, paving squares, cornices, arches and floor-tiles.[21]

The first months of 1846 promised well. Smolenski seems to have been encouraged enough to acquire a site on St-Ours Street (now Boulevard Langelier) for the erection of a combined warehouse and shop,[22] but within a year the whole project had been abandoned and the Île d'Orléans plant was sold.[23] Little is known of Smolenski's activities between 1847 and 1849. Certainly he was discouraged. In the autumn of 1849 he wound up his business affairs, selling to Eugène Trudeau of Quebec not only all his right and interest in the patent of November 21, 1844 and in the former partnership, but also his household effects and stock that included his last 25 tile-stoves.[24] It was a clean break. He seems to have left the country shortly afterwards.[25]

But the manufacture of Russian stoves in Canada did not disappear with him. Smolenski's attention was diverted to his brick project in 1846 but his partners in "La Compagnie des Poêles Russes" had no intention of giving up, and in November filled the gap in the firm caused by Smolenski's absence by shuffling the staff and promoting one of the experienced European potters im-

ported by the firm five years previously: Karl (now known as Charles) Mederschein.[26] Faucher signed a three-year contract with Mederschein, binding him to the manufacture of stoves in earthenware and faience, tiles, squares and other types of pottery in return for living expenses and a share in the firm's net profit.[27] Naturally enough, Smolenski was enraged by what he undoubtedly considered to be usurpation of his rights, and issued a public notice in *Le Canadien* of December 23, 1846, pointing out that he was the owner of the patent issued on November 21, 1844 and threatening action against anyone who infringed his rights. But there was no real bite in his yelp of rage and the force of this threat seems to have evaporated completely in the next few years.

After Smolenski left Quebec, Mederschein apparently took over the Russian stove manufacture in his own name, advertising in *Le Canadien* of July 17, 1850 that prices had been reduced and liberal credit was available. Production went on quietly, with no fortune won or lost. In 1853 Mederschein bought a new parcel of land (possibly for its clay) about two miles from the then city limits in the village of Ste-Angèle.[28] But business was fluctuating. At least one contract collapsed. In November 1853 Hon. Jean Chabot, Commissioner-in-Chief of Public Works, had given the firm a contract for dismantling the two Russian stoves in the court house and replacing them with new ones. Mederschein had done the preparatory work when the contract was cancelled and he sued for reimbursement of his expenses.[29] It was a discouraging sign. The market for his stoves was declining as other heating systems were developed, but Mederschein seems to have continued production for nearly a decade. An auction sale of a large quantity of tiles for Russian stoves, advertised in *Le Canadien* of October 12, 1859 and held two days later on Atkinson's wharf, probably marks the end of the era of Russian stoves in Quebec.

In 1851 Mederschein had bought a house and land on the north side of St-Valier Street and moved in.[30] In 1861 he seems to have decided to retrench by re-establishing his pottery here.[31] His home and workshop seem to have escaped the widespread fire of 1862 which razed most of the district,[32] and presumably Mederschein spent these years quietly developing the skills of his only son, Charles, as a potter. In 1867 the elder Mederscheins withdrew into the background, though Charles Senior was still only 47. They turned over their property (including the pottery) to Charles Mederschein Junior, then 23, with the proviso that he support his parents and his two younger sisters.[33] The Mederschein pottery survived the next 15 years. *The Gazette* (Montreal) of September 14, 1870 records that at the provincial exhibition, Mederschein won awards for "best stone ware—an assortment" and "best pottery—an assortment," and drew praise for his "new kind of delf, very highly polished" (perhaps a clue to the only use of colour in the Quebec area?). This success was repeated the following year at the exhibition in Quebec,[34] and the family was still doing well enough in 1877 to be able to afford extensive renovations to the house.[35] But the crest had been reached and the downward fall was beginning. An adjustment in the ownership was made in 1881 when Charles Mederschein Junior sold the south part of the lot and the house (with the pottery workshop on the ground floor) to his sister Josephine and her husband Joseph Martineau, a baker. Mederschein

retained the other half of the lot and rights to the store and workshop so business continued on the surface much as usual.[36]

But the pinch was beginning to be felt. In 1883 Charles Senior sold his remaining property to raise funds and save his son from being forced to sell the remaining half of the lot on St-Valier Street adjacent to the pottery.[37] This proved merely a stopgap. In January 1886 Charles Junior, in desperation, had to sell this piece of land.[38] It was a last-ditch stand. His father died two months later and Charles Junior seems to have been unable to carry on the pottery alone.[39] In 1889 he is listed in directories as both a potter and labourer, but by 1890 all references to him as a potter have ceased.[40] Fifty years after Karl Mederschein had signed a contract in Hamburg with Smolenski to immigrate to Canada, the Mederscheins sink again into obscurity after a continuous struggle to survive as a potter-family.

The Bells' Pottery and the Yamaska Offshoot

The Bell property on the St-Charles River belonged to the family for more than a century. On this site for some 75 years, the firm of W. and D. Bell flourished, using the local red-burning clays for their pottery and British pipe clay for their famous tobacco pipes.

William and David Bell were the first potters in a family previously active as ship-builders. Their father, William Bell of Fife, Scotland, appointed H.M. Master Shipwright for the Upper Lakes of Canada, first arrived in Canada in June 1799 to serve at Amherstburg and then in the naval dockyard at Kingston. In 1816 he sailed home,[41] but his brother John remained in Canada and by 1818 was well established in his own shipyard at Quebec.[42] Here William Bell returned with his young children in April 1825 to operate the shipyard for a year so that his brother could go back to Scotland. But ship-building had lost its allure for him. He had fallen in love with the land, with the St-Charles valley, and in particular with a farm enhanced by fruit trees that lined the property's boundary at the river bank for nearly a mile. He bought this farm, "the best seat near Quebec," as he considered, in 1827 and enjoyed it until his death 10 years later.[43]

William and David, his sons, were still minors and the inventory of the estate made in 1838 indicates no pottery- or brick-making.[44] But in 1846 when the two young men were arranging a loan of £ 200, a "manufacture à briques" was pledged as part of the security, and two months later the same notary recorded the sale of brick to a neighbouring farmer, Jean de Lage dit Lavigeur.[45] William Bell seems to have directed the operation of the farm while David--perhaps attracted by the example of their neighbour to the east, Robert Ward, who had established himself as a brickmaker immediately after the two

great 1845 fires—became a potter.[46] His talent quickly surfaced. On October 18, 1850 *Le Canadien* reported that D. Bell of the Petite Rivière had exhibited three vases at the industrial exposition for the district of Quebec and won a one-pound prize. A few days later (October 24) *The Gazette* (Montreal) noted that he had been awarded a prize for the four samples of pottery submitted to the provincial industrial exhibition in Montreal. The Bell pottery had come of age.

The following spring David married[47] and the farm property was formally partitioned, leaving William in sole control of the farm and David in charge of the brickyard and pottery and in possession of the "right to use the clay on the east side of the drain stream or rivulet running from the highway down to the river St-Charles and on the north side of the Brick Yard and Pottery."[48] David Bell's head was buzzing with ideas and, confident of the future, he signed on two experienced British potters, William Steele and John Levack, so that in 1851 the pottery could begin to expand its activities.[49] William Steele was given general management duties at the pottery but he seems to have been disgruntled with the possibilities and both he and Levack left Bell as soon as the agreement expired in order to strike out on their own at Yamaska.[50]

The Yamaska area had seen an extensive manufacture of brick throughout the nineteenth century. Steele and Levack moved to St-Michel d'Yamaska, on the south shore of the St.Lawrence a hundred miles from Quebec, to take over the running of the pottery (then producing only bricks) founded and owned by James Maclaren, jail keeper in Quebec City. Maclaren was keenly interested in the production of roofing tiles and bricks and worked away in this field as much as his official duties permitted. In 1849 he patented an improved roofing tile which won a prize at the 1850 provincial exhibition in Montreal, and in 1852 he moved on to patent a new type of partially glazed brick.[51] But he was not a professional potter and so jumped at the idea of leasing the Yamaska site to experienced workers like Levack and Steele, maintaining a close connection with the work by offering to serve as their attorney and marketing agent in Quebec City. A partnership was drawn up covering seven years from May 1, 1852, and production started off in high gear.[52] A year later, on June 10, 1853, advertisements in *Le Canadien* and *The Morning Chronicle* proclaimed that A. Joseph and Co. were selling Yamaska products at the Napolean wharf in Quebec and could offer 30,000 Yamaska brick, small and large sizes, delivered on board "if one purchases them today." Yamaska brownware was on sale too: jars, dishes, bowls, salts, ink bottles, tea pots, garden pots and even chimney pots! Sales continued throughout the summer. A profitable year was crowned by Steele's acknowledgement as the outstanding prize-winner of the Quebec provincial exhibition held in Montreal in September 1853, where he culled three first prizes for drain tiles, paving tiles, and pottery.

The first sale of 1854 was advertised in *Le Canadien* of May 15 by A. Joseph and Co. with butter pots, pitchers, assorted bowls and ginger beer bottles added to the range of Yamaska wares. In 1855 James J. Lowndes of Buteau's wharf had become the sales agent and used *The Morning Chronicle* of April 11 to announce that after the opening of navigation, he would have on hand a selection of "Brownware—Butter Crocks, Bread Pans, Milk Dishes, Liquor Jars, Garden Pots, Fancy Vases—Warranted equal to English Manufacture" as well as

oven, ridge, pan and draining tiles—"the latter highly recommended by the Board of Agriculture." Orders for any quantity of brick were also solicited and the active Lowndes inserted another advertisement in McLaughlin's *Quebec Directory for 1855-56*, again boldly declaring the brownware to be "warranted, equal to English manufacture."

The two Scottish potters were doing well as potters but not as partners. In 1856 John Levack seems to have withdrawn from the enterprise and Steele was forced to reorganize the pottery, engaging himself as an employee of Maclaren for three years.[53] A. Fraser and Co. had auctioned off a great assortment of Yamaska pottery in June at Tremain's wharf, and this was to prove the last normal auction of the pottery's products.[54] The Yamaska enterprise was abruptly toppled by Maclaren's untimely death in the disastrous fire on board the steamer *Montreal* just below Cap-Rouge on June 29, 1857. More than half of the 400 passengers and crew lost their lives, among them Maclaren who had been conducting a prisoner to the Kingston penitentiary.

Steele could not carry on without Maclaren's financial backing. In November 1857 the schooner *Perseverance* carried the last of the Yamaska products to Quebec for an auction sale to settle Maclaren's estate.[55] There seems no further evidence of pottery manufacture at St-Michel d'Yamaska although later records indicate an extensive brick manufacture continued in the area.

Perhaps it had been a mistake to leave the solidly established Bell pottery so quickly. Another Scottish potter, James Smith, had replaced Steele and Levack in 1852, agreeing to serve for three years "in the capacity of brown ware potter."[56] He started at an active period. A project designed to bring a supply of water by aqueduct into the city had been initiated in Quebec in 1850 and involved the installation of a complex drainage system. David Bell could see clearly the implications for his own business and concentrated a good deal of his time in studying the problems inherent in manufacturing such a drainage system. In 1853 he patented a press or machine for shaping earthenware pipes or drainage tiles, a leap forward towards possible large-scale production. It was a demanding year. The Bell brothers had drawn up a formal partnership agreement, launching the firm of "W. and D. Bell" in June 1853, a few days before signing a major contract with the city of Quebec for the manufacture of earthenware pipes in diameters up to 18 inches, glazed inside and perfectly vitrified outside.[57] The contract was not completed within three years as planned. It unleashed a spasm of activity but also 30 years of bickering.[58]

Two more Scottish potters, James Spence and Archibald Forman, had been imported in 1853 to help satisfy the demand for earthenware pipes,[59] and the next 10 years were characterized by feverish activity at the pottery, though the Scottish potters all seem to have deserted the Bells in the autumn of 1854. The Bells continued to exhibit regular pottery wares, winning a bronze medal in New York in 1853, but they had perforce to concentrate on pipes.[60] Production was stepped up as the organization grew more complex. The coal for firing the kilns apparently came from Britain, was unloaded at Quebec and then brought up to the plant on the Petite Rivière in bateaux or in carts. As early as June 1854 the Bells had been forced to rent a wharf at Quebec for storing the massive deliveries of steam coals.[61]

The census of 1861 reveals that 20

Plate 1

Flower vase with pale glaze over entire surface, vivid red flowers, green leaves and dark blue line at rim. Mark on base: "Yamaska Cowansville Quebec." Suggestion is that it could have been made abroad but there is no indication of a foreign stamp.

Date: uncertain; probably late.
Dimensions: height 10 in., diameter at widest part 7½ in.

employees worked for the Bells by this time and the annual production of earthenware pipes was valued at $4,000.[62] Household pottery had not been completely neglected but it was not selling well, and on September 11, 1862 more than 62,400 pieces of Rockingham, yellowware and earthenware were put up for auction at Petite Rivière with free delivery to Quebec offered as part of the sale.[63] It seems to have been a general clearing-out of stock on hand but the moment was not well-chosen for the sale since there had been three other large auctions of the same type of goods in Quebec that year, including one only two weeks earlier. Results were naturally disappointing and the Bells seem to have given up the production of household pottery at this time, developing instead their new line of clay tobacco pipes in a wide assortment of styles.[64] They were enormously successful with these and the 1870s saw a new period of prosperity for the Bells. *The Morning Chronicle* (September 13 and 16, 1871) noted that at the provincial exposition in Quebec the Bells won first prize not only for their clay tobacco pipes but also for their drain tiles, used primarily for farming purposes. Similar items were exhibited at the Philadelphia Exposition in 1876 and brick seems to have been made by the Bells till after the turn of the century with such side-products as terracotta *jardinières* and flower pots.

In 1891 the older of the brothers,

Plate 2

Made by the W. & D. Bell firm, this stoneware teapot is covered with a dark brown glaze and stamped with "24" on bottom. Raised cupid designs impressed on sides.

Date: ca. 1860.
Dimensions: height 8 ¼ in., diameter 8 in.

William, died, still a bachelor. David Bell died in 1905 but his widow, Catherine Langlois Bell, and his son, David Forrest Bell, formed a new partnership still continuing the firm name well seasoned after 50 years, W. and D. Bell.[65] They seem to have turned out small tea and coffee pots of the type used by restaurants and possibly other household articles. As late as 1912 the Geological Survey of Canada referred to the drain tiles still being produced by the firm. The tiles were being burned in small, round down-draft kilns and were rather soft and porous since the clay "was of the lean variety and too sandy for this purpose."[66]

The pottery site itself is now obliterated by a new highway system,[67] but many samples of the Bells' pottery still survive, brittle fruit of Scottish potters' experience in Canada.

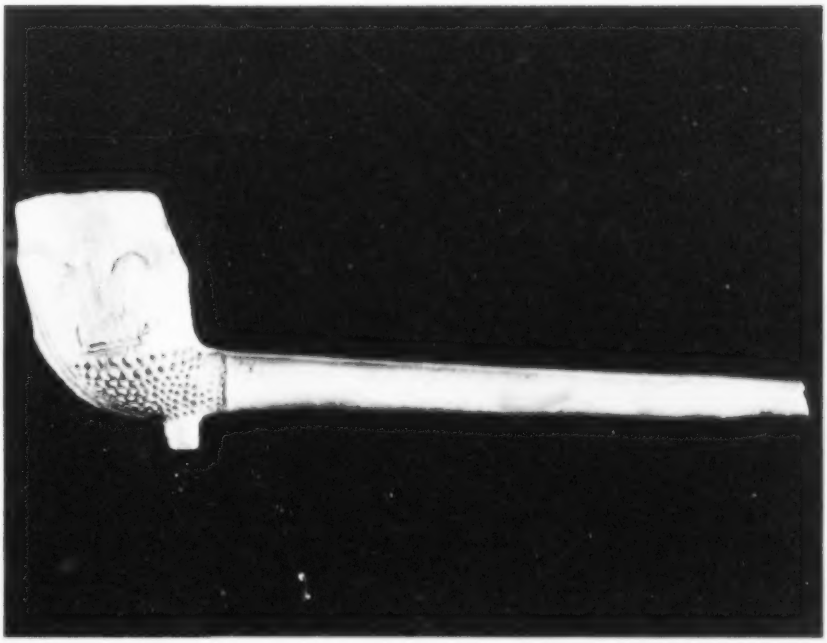

Plate 3

White clay pipe ornamented with Prince of Wales feathers on both sides. Stamped "W. & D. Bell" on one side of stem and "Quebec" on the other.

Date: ca. 1862-80.
Length: 6 1/2 in.

The St-Charles valley nurtured other potters in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The parish of Ancienne Lorette, and particularly Les Saules at the junction of the rivers Lorette and St-Charles, provided what seemed obvious locations for potteries and in fact before 1850 Siméon Joubert, one of the experienced artisans of Saint-Denis on the Richelieu, had moved to Les Saules to draw some profit from the local clay as a potter.[68] He was a restless man who had shunted here and there in the previous years, from Saint-Denis to Saint-Francois, then back to Saint-Denis, out again for three years in Machiche, three years in St-Roch and so on to Les Saules. He had few ties in the community. He did not buy property or think of working the land,[69] but he did train at least one of the local youths as a potter: Jean-Baptiste Dion, a son of one of the oldest established families of Les Saules whose influence in the community dated back at least a century and a half.[70]

Jean-Baptiste's parents had given him in 1853 a house and a small piece of land, one half arpent wide and three arpents deep, bordering the river St-Charles at the front of the family farm.[71] Here, after Joubert left the area around 1854, Jean-Baptiste Dion established his own pottery, using the bottom part of his house as the workshop and the upper storey as living quarters. In 1856 he married Julie Belleau,[72] and within the next two and a half years he lost a son, a daughter and then his wife. Not surprisingly, his simple "moulin à pot" remained just that and showed no signs of any energetic development. An inventory, made in 1859 after the death of his first wife, shows the narrow limitations of his pottery, producing earthenware jars, crocks, dishes and bowls with the help of three employees: Alphonse Gauvreau, Édouard Guillet and Louis Faneuf.[73]

In 1860 Jean-Baptiste Dion remarried, but he never infused any major enthusiasm into his pottery enterprise.[74] In November 1867 he bought his Uncle Joseph's farm adjoining his own property, and turned his attention more and more to farming, leaving his pottery to stagnate. His second wife, Charlotte, died in 1897 and Jean-Baptiste had no son to follow him as a potter—his only surviving child, Jean-Baptiste Eugène, son of his second marriage, had died in 1894 at the age of 29—so that when he died on July 16, 1901 at the age of 74, Jean-Baptiste's heir was his potter-nephew Silfrid Dion, a son of Antoine, Jean-Baptiste's energetic older brother.[75]

Antoine Dion had become interested in pottery-making around 1867, just about the time his brother, Jean-Baptiste, was losing interest in the old techniques and turning to farming instead.[76] But Antoine seems to have had some driving force within him which his brothers lacked. One of his grandsons, Albert Dion of Quebec City, who worked in the manufacture until he was 21, says that Antoine had the energy of three ordinary men. Certainly he packed within one lifetime the careers of several men, working as a wheelwright, carpenter and engineer before he became a potter. And his variegated experience undoubtedly helped him make a success of his pottery.

Antoine was born in 1825 at the family home of the Dions in Les Saules, and after he married Marguerite Bedard, also of Ancienne Lorette in 1846,[77] he spent five years as a wheelwright in his home parish before moving to the Parish of Champlain and switching to the trade of carpentry. Still dissatisfied after no more than two or three years in Champlain, he moved on to the parish of Beauport where he worked at first as

a woodworker and later as an engineer.[78] But he was still restless. Ten years before, in 1853, Antoine had received a chunk of the family land from his parents as a donation in lieu of rights of succession. Jean-Baptiste had received a similar piece of property and used it to establish his small pottery. Antoine had watched developments. By 1863 it was obvious that his brother had no intention of expanding his pottery and was in fact losing interest. Antoine returned to Ancienne Lorette and during the years 1864 and 1865 he built himself a two-storey house and outbuildings on his land at the front of the family farm,[79] bordering the highway then referred to as the "trait quarré de Sillery." This was the road that formed the southern boundary of the Seigneurie de Saint-Gabriel and the parish of Ancienne Lorette.[80]

Antoine seems to have followed the same pattern as his brother in the early years as a potter. In the initial phase, from about 1867 to 1874 he used the lower part of his house as a workshop, living upstairs.[81] He was, after all, already in his forties and he had tried several other trades, none too successfully, so a little caution was called for. But by 1875 he was sure of himself and of the soundness of the business.

In the early spring of 1875, he purchased the farm adjacent to his own house, furnace and stable, adding two arpents of land and a house and barn to his holdings.[82] Next, he built an extension to his original house on the west, crossing the old property-line and thus creating what became known as "the manufacture." The crowning touch was a new steam engine, bought from the Société Beauchemin et Fils of Sorel, for mixing and preparing the clay.[83] With his extraordinary energy, at the age of 50, he was now ready to compete with the successful potters at St-Jean and Iberville and with the potters at Cap-Rouge. But unlike these "American-

Plate 4

Red earthenware milk bowl, glazed on inside only with iron and manganese oxides producing a mixture of orange, yellow and brown. Made by the Dion potteries at Lorette, P.Q.

Date: ca. 1867-74.
Dimensions: height 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ in., diameter of top 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.

style" potters, Antoine Dion used neither imported clay nor imported labour. It was a family enterprise and all five sons joined him in the firm: Antoine Junior, Jacques Silfrid, Jean-Baptiste, Joseph and Frédéric. Later, three grandsons swelled the ranks: Joseph Isidore (son of Antoine Junior), Albert and Ovide (sons of Frédéric). And Antoine worked entirely from the local red-burning clay (drawn at first from the family farm and then from his 1875 acquisition) and used slip glazes also made from the local clay. Sometimes there are green patches in the Dion pottery—these are inherent in the clay itself and result from imperfect firing. The glazes seem to have been usually of two types—the single-fired slip glaze used on most of the common ware, and the twice-fired type producing a thicker glaze with a more lustrous appearance like the Bennington "flint-enamel." This was the glaze used on the well-known "pot à tabac" of which there are excellent examples both in the Musée de Québec and in the National Museum of Man at Ottawa. This line of tobacco pots is said to have been designed, and the models prepared by Jean-Baptise Dion, third son of Antoine. Antoine had only one simple furnace, built outside at the rear of his manufacture. He used forms and moulds as required to produce a competitive product, and such simple additives as red lead, manganese and flint to improve the appearance and quality of the finished product. [84] Production was substantial, with a work force of some 15 persons when the manufacture was in full swing.

Fifteen years after his bold decision to found the manufacture, since he was approaching 65 himself, Antoine decided to make over the pottery to his two eldest sons, Antoine and Jacques Silfrid. The formal sale took place on December 30, 1889, [85] and Antoine Junior and Silfrid agreed to run the

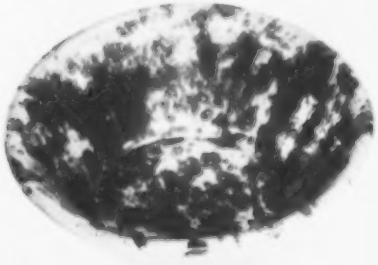

Plate 5

Spittoon and bowl in Rockingham-type ware; the twice-fired slip produces a streaked brown glaze over the red earthenware. Made by the Dion potteries at Les Saules, P.Q.

Spittoon: date ca. 1880-89; dimensions – height 3 ¼ in., diameter of base 8 in.
Bowl: date ca. 1875-1900; dimensions – height 3 in., diameter of top 9 ¼ in.

manufacture for 10 years under the name "Dion Frères."[86]

This association did not outlive the last decade of the nineteenth century, primarily because Silfrid had been named as his uncle Jean-Baptiste's heir in 1894 and was increasingly concerned with the responsibilities this entailed. In August 1900 Silfrid gave his half share in the Dion family manufacture back to his father, so that the two Antoines, father and son, were left to operate it jointly. But only on paper, for Antoine père's eyesight had failed by this time, and two years later he was dead.[87]

The younger Antoine continued to run the pottery until 1913 when, his energy ebbing at 67, he decided to sell the business to Arthur Duchesne, apparently one of his own potters.[88] Duchesne sold the property back to Antoine a year later so that Antoine was able to hand on the family firm to his only son, Joseph, also a potter trained in the manufacture.[89] But the whole *élan* of this pottery seems to have been invested in the two Antoine Dions and was not inherited by Joseph Dion who became sole owner in 1915.[90] Less than a year later, Joseph sold the pottery to Charles N. Lafond, who modernized the plant, introducing electricity to replace steam power.[91] Lafond was not a potter though he knew the Quebec crockery trade well. In these last two years of its life, under Lafond's management, the pottery produced some fine work with the distinctive colouring of the Dion products. But it was a final surge. In 1918, when Lafond sold the property, the Dion pottery's history finally came to an end.

Antoine's enterprise had survived for 50 years and outlasted all its early competitors, except possibly the Bells. One other pottery flourished on the banks of the St-Charles in the last part of the nineteenth century and represents the only participation in the area by the English pottery trade. It was founded by Henry Goodwin but was known locally as "Hobson's pottery" for Hobson was the potter though never the owner.

Henry Goodwin was one of four brothers who were manufacturers of earthenware in England and who had established themselves in Toronto as crockery merchants under the firm name of Goodwin and Co. At Quebec the firm was established in 1849 as Goodwin Brothers with Henry in charge.[92] Subsequent to George's retirement in 1858 the partnership broke up and the Quebec firm became known as Henry Goodwin and Co., specializing in English brownware.

The firm was catering particularly to the local market with its imported crockery and in 1867, Henry decided to invest some of his capital in an attempt at cutting into the local industry. From the Ursulines he bought two lots of land on the banks of the St-Charles River at the village of Ste-Angèle, fronting on St-André Street.[93] Walter Hobson represented Goodwin at the required survey and continued his connection with the pottery for the rest of his life.

Goodwin's pottery was erected swiftly and production began without delay of pots, jars, jugs, spittoons, dishes and a particularly wide range of flower pots. Some fireclay was probably imported and used in combination with the local clay as at Cap-Rouge. But Goodwin died within a year and his widow sold both the Ste-Angèle pottery and the flourishing retail outlet on St-Paul Street in Quebec to John McCaghey, an established crockery merchant in the city.[94]

The new firm of McCaghey, Dolbec and Co. carried on Goodwin's business for five years, advertising themselves as "manufacturers of earthenware" and exhibiting flower pots, spittoons and

Plate 6

Large teapot with a mottled brown manganese glaze of the Rockingham type; decoration in relief is of a man asleep among grape clusters. First record of the fact that the Dion potters of Les Saules made teapots.

Date: ca. 1890
Dimensions: height 7 ¼ in., diameter of largest part 9 ½ in.

stoneware at the provincial exhibitions of 1870 and 1871.[95] But the crash came at the end of 1873 and the insolvent business passed into the hands of F.T. Thomas, a former employee of Goodwin and of McCaghey but now a prosperous china merchant in his own right.[96]

Hobson continued his work, developing his variety of "de luxe" flower pots and exhibiting in 1876 at the Philadelphia International Exposition in his own name "de vases à fleurs en terre de diverses formes, pots à confitures, etc."[97] The name of Thomas is not mentioned but he retained ownership and after his death in 1897 the pottery was inherited by his wife, who finally sold the property in 1919.[98] Hobson continued to operate the pottery throughout his lifetime but no evidence has yet come to light to show that the pottery was continued after his death in 1901.

Hobson had acquired three lots of ground in his own name from the Ursulines between 1878 and 1886 on the east side of St-André Street across from the pottery, but he died without heir, a month after the death of his wife, and the properties were sold at auction by the sheriff. It is reported by Albert Dion of Quebec that there was a sale at the pottery after Hobson died and that some of the moulds were purchased for the Dion pottery at Les Saules.

In the late 1850s, to a businessman involved in the crockery trade at Quebec, tantalizingly aware of the success of the pottery industry on the Richelieu, the Cap-Rouge site breathed promise. Cap-Rouge is the name given to the great promontory of red shale which forms the western end of the rock of Quebec. The Cap-Rouge River joins the St.Lawrence here and its valley seemed an ideal location for a pottery. There was good red-burning clay in the area, facilities for water transportation were excellent as the river was navigable for about a mile and its steep banks were ideal for loading and unloading boats, and the active lumber operations of the region guaranteed an almost unlimited amount of wood to fuel the kilns at low cost. Timothée Delisle, who ran the brick works at Cap-Rouge, owned the land at the mouth of the Cap-Rouge River on the west side, above the highway. And Timothée Delisle's niece was married to Henry Howison, a Quebec crockery merchant.[99]

Jean Henry Howison had strong ties with the parish of Ancienne Lorette where his mother had settled and he himself had married.[100] At the time of this marriage, in October 1854, to Charlotte Adelaide Pageot of Ancienne Lorette, Howison was still a minor and described as a store clerk living in the city of Quebec.[101] His status changed radically with his marriage since in the directories of 1855 he is described as a crockery merchant of 33 St. John Street in the Upper Town. He consolidated his position at the end of 1857 by forming a partnership with a Quebec master plumber, John Pye, and by taking over new storage and office space in the Lower Town for the vigorous appearance on the Quebec business scene of Henry Howison and Co., merchants and importers.[102] An extensive advertising campaign was carried on in the

summer of 1858 with Henry Howison and Co. offering the public through the pages of *Le Canadien* everything from a range of faience or a new porcelain coffee-maker to wax figures and artifical flowers under glass. The business prospered and by the end of 1859 Howison seems to have been making preparations to leave Ancienne Lorette and move to Cap-Rouge to devote himself to a new project.[103]

Zéphirin Chartré, a master tinsmith of Quebec, joined with Pye and Howison in forming a partnership for the Cap-Rouge enterprise and on June 19, 1860 they acquired from Timothée Delisle a triangular plot of ground, almost at the mouth of the river, for a pottery site adjacent to Delisle's brickworks, and a second parcel of land to the west with two houses: one already occupied by Henry Howison and the other by his works manager, Philip Pointon.[104] Extensive plans for the project now coalesced. Joseph Hamel, one of Howison's former neighbours in Ancienne Lorette, was awarded the contract for construction of the pottery building and promised to have everything ready by September 1.[105] He had committed himself to erecting in this short time a frame building 100 feet long and 50 feet wide, two storeys high, and with a low-pitched roof, supplemented by a 36-foot square platform which seems to have been designed for unloading imported New Jersey fireclay from schooners.[106] Another contractor (possibly E.P. Farrar) was responsible for the three furnaces, and chimneys.[107] Steam was used as motive power and the average number of men employed was to be 27, with Henry Howison supervising them as general manager.[108] The earthenware products were to be marketed solely through Henry Howison and Co. of Quebec.[109]

It seemed an ambitious enterprise for a young man of 27 to nurse to success. Certainly the firm of Henry Howison and Co. in Quebec was conducting an extensive business at this time, both in imported crockery and in Canadian wares, with customers not only in Quebec but also in Montreal and Trois-Rivières as well as in the Eastern Townships and lower St.Lawrence ports.[110] And certainly the new firm had the sense to engage for a period of 10 years, to June 30 1870, an experienced American potter, Philip Pointon, to manage the pottery and "to instruct the said Howison, Pye and Chartré in all the arts and secrets of the manufacture of earthenware with which he is acquainted."[111] Since the pottery was apparently designed for the use of New Jersey fireclay, which was the same type of clay being imported successfully by the Farrars at St-Jean, and since the location was so good and the market so close, undoubtedly Howison felt optimistic.

But the troubles began long before any production. For the census of 1861, the enumerator's certificate (signed on February 6) notes that the manufacture was still in the process of construction. Hamel had obviously not met his deadline. There seems to have been no production from the Cap-Rouge pottery during 1861. On April 9, out of patience, John Pye withdrew from all his partnerships with Henry Howison, and Chartré had to step into the void thus created in the organization of the Quebec city firm. The names of both enterprises were now revised to Howison and Chartré, although so heavy in fact was the continuing indebtedness to Pye that the joint properties and assets were still pledged to him.[112] The pottery struggled into life, half suffocated before it even began by its accumulated debts.

The Cap-Rouge product apparently first reached the Quebec market in the spring of 1862. On May 28, Howison and Chartré were at last able to advertise in the Quebec newspapers the forthcoming auction sale of 100 crates of Cap-Rouge ware: "consisting of Victoria and Beaver Rockingham teapots, Victoria and Beaver jugs, milk bowls, chambers, yellow bowls of various sizes, mugs, egg cups, salts, preserve jars, spittoons, dishes, soap boxes etc." On August 22 and 23 a second auction sale was advertised, apparently the product of three months' work.[113] It was a brave beginning but not enough to stave off financial collapse. The firm foundered. In November 1862 the properties at Cap-Rouge were seized by the sheriff.[114] But Howison and Chartré did not even have clear title to the land since the purchase price had not yet been paid to Timothée Delisle. The legal tangle worsened. On August 19, 1863 John Pye formally emerged as the purchaser of the Cap-Rouge properties and a week later he handed over the enterprise on a trial basis to Louis-Pierre Gauvreau of Quebec, a civil engineer.[115]

Gauvreau was to take possession on September 1, 1863 and to enjoy the property until May 1, 1864 but the actual decision on the sale was to be postponed until June 1864.[116] The sale from Pye to Gauvreau was never finalized but Gauvreau seems to have remained in possession throughout 1864 and 1865 since the partnership he formed with his brother (T. Elzéar Gauvreau) under the name of L. P. Gauvreau et Frère appeared in directories for these two years.[117] They opened a retail store in Lower Town and in their opening advertisement in *The Quebec Daily News* of April 13, 1864 they described themselves as "manufacturers of Yellow and Rockingham Ware" and added: "As they are manufacturing this ware themselves, which is in no way inferior to the imported one, and [as] they are in a position to give it at a lower price than the Importers, they hope for a liberal support from the public." Three days later an editorial note in *The Quebec Daily News* endorsed the quality and good value of the goods L. P. Gauvreau et Frère were offering.

Advertisements for the firm appeared in *Le Canadien* throughout the summer of 1865 but how the Cap-Rouge pottery fared in the following three years is not clear. The Gauvreaus seem to have given up sometime during the winter of 1865-66.[118] It is possible that John Pye operated the pottery himself for a while—perhaps with Pointon's continuing help[119]—until Pye sold all his property and interests at Cap-Rouge on August 17, 1869 to Edward Jackson Dalkin and Charles William Wilson, merchants of Quebec, with an eye on the profitable lumber trade at Cap-Rouge.[120]

The pottery of E.J. Dalkin and Co. was increasingly overshadowed by the booming lumber trade.[121] Dalkin soon realized that there was more profit to be won as a lumber merchant, and in 1873 the pottery changed hands for the last time.[122] John Ross, the new owner, was already involved in a range of lumbering and shipping enterprises in Quebec and had no thought of supervising the pottery himself. With two colleagues he formed "The Cap-Rouge Pottery Company" which seems to have survived doggedly for perhaps ten years.[123] There are references in the reports of the Canadian Commission (Ottawa 1877) to the firm's exhibition of crockery ware at the Philadelphia International Exposition of 1876 but after this there seems to be no sign of any further documentary evidence of production.

The pottery was never boldly innovative. Its production seems to have been

Plate 7

Small pitcher from the Cap Rouge Pottery Company with a raised diamond pattern and dark brown manganese glaze.

Date: ca. 1860.
Dimensions: height 6½ in., diameter of widest part 6 in.

limited to pottery from the local red-burning clay and to some "Vermont-style" crockery using the imported fire-clay. There seems no evidence to suggest any experiments with white-burning clay. And production petered out some 20 years after its uneven beginnings at Cap-Rouge. The pottery building was apparently still standing at the time of John Ross's death in 1887 but must have been pulled down shortly afterwards.[124] When the right of way for the National Transcontinental Railway leading to the new Quebec bridge was located about 1900, a large part of the pottery site was taken for the viaduct to carry the railroad across the valley of the Cap-Rouge River.

The Cap-Rouge potters never realized the commercial success they dreamed of. The widespread development of the ceramics industry on the Richelieu was not repeated in the valleys of the Cap-Rouge or St-Charles rivers. But the Bells and the Dions and their competitors did carry on and develop the traditions of Scottish brownware production and the rich craftsmanship of the French régime potters into the twentieth century. The brief history of the Russian Stove Company cries out for more study – since it seems quite possible that examples of these tile-stoves may still exist. These are important contributions to Canadian social and art history and deserve to be brought more into the light.

Plate 8

Biscuit-coloured mixing bowl of yellowware-type, with two white bands outlined in black. Made at Cap Rouge Pottery.

Date: ca. 1860
Dimensions: height 4 in., diameter 7½ in.

Notes

1. For Cloutier, *see* Census of Lower Canada 1842, Co. of Quebec, Faubourg St-Roch, rue Ste-Marguerite 495. For the Poitras and Bélangers, see *ibid.*, rue St-Valier 248-50. Pierre Vincent was a potter on rue St-Valier in 1805 (Visite Générale de la Paroisse de Québec commencée le 15 mai 1805; cited in *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec, 1948-49*, p. 193). Bechard insists that the street name should be Saint-Vallier, not Valier, *see* A. Bechard, *L'Ancien Québec, Descriptions, Nos Archives Etc.* (Québec, 1890), p. 105.

2. Quebec Literary and Historical Society, *Transactions*, vol. II. Quebec, 1831, p. 327.

3. P.G. Roy, *Toutes Petites Choses du Régime Anglais*, deuxième série, 1946, p. 55.

4. Archives judiciaires de Québec, Greffe de Louis Panet, no. 7621, 16 janvier 1838. (Archives judiciaires de Québec is henceforth referred to as AJQ.)

5. *Patents of Canada, 1824-1849* (Toronto 1860), pp. 125-26. The patent was granted to John Vannovous under the number 46 (Lower Canada), and the complete description read as follows: "The material of which the said stove is composed, is pottery ware or porcelain, formed into tiles and joined together as below specified. In the usual and most common form, the stove stands on an oblong base varying in size, on which it is raised perpendicularly to the height of six feet, more or less. The fire place is closed with a door and communicates with a series of ascending and descending flues, occupying and filling up the body of the stove, through which the smoke and heated air circulate, communicating heat to the tiles, and through them to the external air. The flues are separated by partitions composed of clay or pottery, the support of the base may be of wood or of iron, or of any other material. The tiles may be of various forms and sizes, they are of two sorts, namely, those forming the middle of the sides and the corner pieces, which latter are in most respects similar to the former, except in so far as it is necessary to vary them, to adapt them to their peculiar places. The tiles for the sides are of an oblong shape and are framed with a flanch on each side, running round their whole circumference; the flanch being curved or hollowed on the outside as represented in the plans and description fyled, as aforesaid, so that when two tiles are set edge to edge, there is a channel or interval between the flanches; the side of the tile not occupied by the flanch is smooth. The flanches are also sometimes perforated to admit of more strongly binding together. The tiles may be made rounded, or otherwise shaped, to adapt them to the different forms of the stoves; in building the stove, the tiles are joined close together end to end, the flanches being directed inwards, and the intervals between them formed as above mentioned are filled up with clay which is left to harden and dry. In the horizontal intervals, an iron plate is embedded in the clay, to brace the work. The top or ceiling of the stove is formed of clay." The transfer of these rights is certified in AJQ, Greffe de Louis Panet, no. 7565, 10 novembre and no. 7573, 14 novembre 1837.

6. *Le Fantasque*, 25 août 1838: "Profitons donc de son expérience et de son industrie, et combattons avec lui de toutes nos forces contre le plus constant, le plus cruel et le plus accablant de nos oppresseurs. Les armes, c'est à dire les poêles qu'il nous offre sont sous bien des rapports plus avantageux que ceux employés jusqu'ici. Outre qu'ils sont un ornement dans une maison, ils donnent une chaleur saine, plus agréable, plus abondante et demandent beaucoup moins de combustible. Utilité, agrément, économie! ne laissons point ces avantages passer inapercus, surtout dans des temps comme les jours actuels où nous voyons tant de choses inutiles, désagéables et si exorbitamment chères."

7. AJQ, Greffe de Louis Panet, no. 7848, 10 décembre 1838. This was the beginning of a connection with the Balzaretti family that was to continue throughout Smolenski's stay in Quebec.

8. For the storage of the tiles in the warehouses of Messrs. Tremain, White & Co., *see* AJQ, Greffe d'Édouard Glackmeyer, no. 294, 4 septembre 1839. The house was rented from Prisque Huot (*ibid.*, no. 78, 10 avril 1840).

9. The agreement was made with the curé, Charles Francois Baillargeon and the wardens of the "fabrique" of the Parish of Notre Dame de Québec (*ibid.*, no. 294, 4 septembre 1839).

10. See *Le Canadien*, 28 octobre, 9 novembre, and 14 décembre 1840.

11. AJQ, Greffe d'Édouard Glackmeyer, no. 78, 10 avril 1840.

12. AJQ, Greffe de Louis Panet, no. 8590, 10 novembre 1840. It was agreed that after the operations had produced a net profit of £1,000 for Balzaretti, Smolenski would have the right to construct 200 Russian stoves for his own account. The partnership was binding for four years. Smolenski was authorized to rent the necessary premises and purchase

everything necessary for the establishment.

13. For purposes of record the original contracts of employment (the first executed on March 11, 1841 for four years from May 1, 1841 at Danzig, Prussia in the German language, and the second executed at Hamburg on March 25, 1841 in the Polish language) were deposited by Smolenski with Notary Louis Panet in Quebec City (see AJQ, Greffe de Louis Panet, nos. 8850 and 8851, 19 juin 1841).

14. *See*, for example, Nicolas Aubin's renewed efforts to enlist support for Smolenski in *Le Fantasque*, 24 juin 1841: "Tous les partisans de l'encouragement de l'industrie intérieure applaudiront sans doute aux efforts persévérants de Mr. Smolenski pour nous délivrer du tribut que nous allions, sans lui, payer à l'Allemagne."

15. "Depuis l'été dernier la fournaise établie dans la rue St-Valier par Monsieur Smolenski est en pleine opération et les articles qui en sont sortis ne le cèdent en rien sous aucun rapport à ceux qui viennent des ateliers européens. Les ouvriers eux-mêmes assurent que les terres qu'ils ont trouvées ici l'emporteront bientôt en blancheur sur celles d'Allemagne et de Pologne. . . Les personnes qui pourraient n'avoir pas encore vu de poêles russes de manufacture canadienne ne se font pas d'idée de leur beauté et de leur élegance" (*Le Fantasque*, 4 novembre 1841).

16. *Ibid*., 17 décembre 1842.

17. *See* AJQ, Greffe de Louis Panet, no. 9763, 23 mars 1844. A balance sheet of the operations of La Compagnie des Poêles Russes for the period November 10, 1840 to October 25, 1843 showed a stock account of £3,763.18.10 and the list of receivables from clients included Christ Church, Montreal, E.R. Caron and N. Belleau of Quebec, and the Government Barracks.

18. *Ibid*., no. 9617, 25 octobre 1843.

19. November 21, 1844, no. 72 (Lower Canada). See *Patents of Canada, 1824-1849*, pp. 177-80. This covered the "Invention of a New Cast Iron Cooking and Caloriferous Stove, and an Alteration in the Construction of the Crockery or Brick Stove, being an improvement on the stove introduced by one John Vannovous." The invention consisted in the introduction of one, two or more cooking stoves into the crockery stove. This "at the same time improves the drawing room, passage, bedroom or state-room crockery ware stove, by the introduction of cast iron furnaces, single, double or treble, which emit a greater quantity of heat and make the stove more durable than in the former mode of construction."

20. See *Le Journal de Québec* 9 décembre 1845, which includes the statistical part of a prospectus issued by Smolenski and Aubin on December 1 inviting subscriptions to their enterprise.

21. *See* AJQ, Greffe de Chs. Cinq-Mars, no. 168, 5 juillet 1845 re a property of 9 arpents near St-Pierre. £500 was made available by some of the leading citizens of Quebec: William Smith Sewell, Henry Atkinson, Pierre Joseph, Olivier Chauvreau, and Jean Chabot (*ibid*., no. 169, 8 juillet 1845).

22. *See* his contract with Dominique Dassilva for this construction (*ibid*., no. 201, 26 février 1846).

23. The plant at St-Pierre was advertised for sale by William Kimlin, Secretary of the General Assistance Committee (for fire victims), see *Le Journal de Québec*, 4 mai 1847.

24. AJQ, Greffe de P. Huot, no. 146, 29 septembre and no. 151, 4 octobre 1849. Also sold to Trudeau: 3,000 earthenware slabs, eight quintals of lead ingots, 12 quintals of white enamel, 20 lots of cast iron.

25. There are only two more references to him: *Le Canadien*, 13 décembre 1850 carried a notice of an action against Smolenski in the Superior Court for the district of Quebec on behalf of the *religieuses* of the Hôpital Général. A sheriff's sale of the property was annouced for August 6, 1851 pursuant to this action (*Le Canadien*, 1 août 1851).

26. Mederschein seems to have been the only one of this group of European potters who decided to stay in Quebec. Little more than a year after his arrival on August 16, 1842 he was married, with Smolenski as his witness in the parish church of St-Roch, to a Canadian girl, Luce Bernier, daughter of Joseph Bernier and Marie-Claire Dumond of Cap St-Ignace (Registres de la Paroisse de St-Roch, 1842, mariage no. 56). In 1854 one of Smolenski's journeymen potters of 1841, Stanislaw Kwasniewski, who was then in Montreal, described himself as a "manufacturer of Hot Air Furnaces" and received patent no. 438 of 1854 for

"The Prize Hot Air and Cooking Furnace" (*Patents of Canada*, 1849-54, Vol. II).

27. AJQ, Greffe de J.B. Trudelle, no. 1143, 19 novembre 1846. Faucher undertook to pay Mederschein, in place of wages and at the expiration of the engagement, one third of the net profit on each stove or other types of pottery, sold and paid for, deduction first being made for all the expenses of the manufacture. Faucher was to advance to Mederschein and his family, provisions and other necessities of life to an amount not exceeding four pounds per month. In addition Mederschein was to receive a bonus of one pound five shillings for each double stove in earthenware or faience he might sell himself, and twelve shillings and a half for each single stove. The context suggests production continued at 99 St-Valier Street.

28. This was the domain of the Ursulines of Quebec who were then beginning to sell concessions on St-André Street (now Marie de l'Incarnation Street) north of St-Valier in an area bordering the south bank of the river. Mederschein seems to have been one of the first to receive a concession. His property, 40 feet by 60 feet, was signed over on September 19, 1853 (AJQ, Greffe d'A. Lemoine, no. 1454). Today the property is lot no. 2173 in the parish of St-Sauveur.

29. *See* AJQ, Greffe de M. Tessier, no. 8373, 12 décembre 1853.

30. Close to its junction with St-Joseph Street, having a frontage on both streets, with a house on St-Valier. The contract of sale was signed on September 9, 1851 (*ibid.*, no. 7633). This property now bears lot no. 235 in the parish of St-Sauveur.

31. In July he signed a contract with two stonemasons, F. and J.L. L'Heureux, to build a stone foundation 40 by 30 feet here, with two foundations for chimneys and four ventilation outlets (*ibid.*, no. 747, 6 juillet 1861).

32. See *The Morning Chronicle*, June 10, 1862. Mederschein's name was not among the list of victims appearing in the press, although some 97 houses were destroyed, including ten on St-Valier Street.

33. AJQ Greffe de J.B. Delage, no. 1466, 2 mai 1867. The sisters Josephine and Zelia were guaranteed support until they came of age.

34. He won the prize for "Best pottery, an assortment." *The Morning Chronicle* September 13, 1871 commented that Mederschein and Son had on display "a quantity of specimens of local manufacture in the shape of pottery, and so forth."

35. For example, the Mederscheins entered into a contract with masons Gabriel Dussault of St-Sauveur and Henri Bouet of St-Roch, to place a brick facing on the front and rear walls of the house and to raise the height of the circular chimney of the *fourneau* (AJQ, Greffe de C. Tessier, no. 5304, 3 septembre 1877).

36. AJQ Greffe de Louis Leclerc, no. 6667, 7 juin 1881 notes that Mederschein retains "l'usage du magazin et Boutique de Potrie qui se trouve dans le bas de la maison. . .tant que le Sieur Mederschein pourra exercer et tenir lui-même son métier et commerce de Potier."

37. Mederschein had bought a lot of ground in the village of Ste-Angèle in 1867 from the Ursulines via notary Michel Tessier (AJQ, Greffe de J.B. Delage, no.1616, 11 décembre 1867). This property is now known as lot no. 2188 in the parish of St-Sauveur. He sold it back to Cyrille Tessier on October 17, 1883 (AJQ, Greffe de G.F.C. DeLery, no. 46).

38. His earlier sale of the north part of lot no. 235 had been rescinded but in 1886 he sold it to Philippe Keninger (*see* Bureau d'Enregistrement, comté de Québec, Reg. B., vol. 148, p. 654, no. 73308).

39. On March 31, 1886 at the age of 66 years. He was buried in the cemetery of St-Sauveur (Registres de la Paroisse de St-Sauveur, 1886 Sepult. no. 154).

40. In 1891 Charles and his sister Josephine (then a widow) declared they were the only surviving children of Charles Mederschein (Bureau d'Enregistrement, comté de Québec, Reg. B., vol. 169, p. 789, no. 85965). On March 11, 1891 they had sold back to the Ursulines the lot in the village of Ste-Angèle which their father had acquired in 1853.

41. Public Archives of Canada, MG 24, F.3, vol. I, Memorial of Mr. William Bell, June 10, 1818.

42. In 1806, while William was at Amherstburg, John was at Kingston building a vessel for the North West Company (*ibid.*, William Bell to Hon. John Craigie, January 20, 1806). Income from his interest in one of his ships is shown in AJQ, Greffe de L.T.

Macpherson, 1 juin 1818 and 16 juin 1824.

43. The purchase is recorded in AJQ, Greffe de W.F. Scott, 13 février 1827. The property contained 122 arpents. William described it as being "nearly a mile bounded by the River St-Charles, on each end from three to four acres in width from the river to the road leading to Montreal, along that road nearly 1/2 mile it is all clear except on the bank of the river which is planted with fruit of all kinds and most beautiful you [have] ever seen by nature or cultivation with the advantage of water to drive machinery to any extent (Public Archives of Canada, MG 24, F. 3, vol. 2, William Bell to his brother and sister, March 1, 1827 and June 28, 1828).

44. AJQ, Greffe de L.T. Macpherson, 9 mars and 19 mai 1838.

45. AJQ, Greffe de Louis Panet, no. 10604, 1 octobre 1846 and no. 10655, 28 décembre 1846.

46. AJQ, Greffe de J. Hunt, no. 72, 13 juin 1845. There had been brickmaking in the immediate vicinity even earlier: W. Hatting was listed as a brickmaker in the Census of Lower Canada of 1831.

47. It was a good match–to Catherine Langlois, daughter of Peter Langlois of Petite Rivière who was seigneur of a part of the fief and seigneurie of Bourglouis. *See* AJQ, Greffe de J.S. Hossack, no. 1838, 4 avril 1851.

48. *Ibid.*, no. 1892, 26 mai 1851.

49. Contracts of employement were signed on July 3, 1851 (*ibid.*, nos. 1906 and 1907) for one year. Steele (a thrower) and Levack (fettler and foreman) agreed to 10 working hours per day with one hour less on Saturdays.

50. Both men submitted notice of their intention to leave at the termination of the contract on December 10, 1851 (*ibid.*, nos. 1980 and 1981).

51. Patent no. 295 specified a "New and Improved Tile for covering houses and other buildings." The tile was 14 inches long, 6 inches wide and 1/2 inch thick. It had a grooved edge so that one tile fitted firmly into the next one. *The Gazette* (Montreal) of October 24, 1850 reported that Maclaren received first prize for one lot of tiles for roofing. Patent no. 343 is for "An improved mode of making Bricks and Architectural Ornaments." One type was a hollow brick with two sides glazed: the outer side to resist moisture and the inner side "to imitate paint or marbled paper."

52. The partnership under the name of Levack and Steele covered a period of seven years. Maclaren yielded to them the right to take clay as required "for the manufacture of Bricks, Tiles and other Pottery." They also had the use of the addition to the principal house on the property as well as two smaller houses and one of the stables. *See* AJQ, Greffe d'E.G. Cannon, nos. 1196, 1197 and 1198 of 6 mars 1852.

53. From July 1, 1856. *See* AJQ, Greffe de H.C. Austin, no. 1160, 5 août 1856.

54. The advertisements in *Le Canadien* of June 20 and 30 specify "Un grand assortiment de POTERIE venant des fabriques d'Yamaska, consistant en Terrines à Lait, de toute grandeur; Casseroles pour la cuisson du pain; Cruches pour liqueur de 1/2, 1 et 2 gallons; Jarres pour beurre et confiture etc." and "ENVIRON 10,000 pièces Poterie, des Fabriques d'Yamaska, consistant en : Pots à Lait, de grandeurs assorties; Jarres pour beurre, Cruches, Jarres Couvertes, Jarres pour cornichons et liqueurs, Théières, Pots à fleur, etc."

55. Brownware for sale was listed as: milk dishes, pans, chambers, picklers, bottles, stove pipe holes, garden pots, liquor jars, flower vases, spittoons etc. Also offered were 18,000 drain tiles and two clay mills with iron knives (*Le Canadien* and *The Morning Chronicle*, November 9, 1857).

56. The contract was signed at Edinburgh on April 7, 1852. *See* AJQ, Greffe de P.A. Shaw, no. 84, 18 octobre 1854.

57. AJQ, Greffe de J.S. Hossack, no. 2431, 6 juin 1853 gives the agreement to carry on the business in which they had been engaged for the last two years "in the Brickery and Pottery Establishements at the Little River St.Charles." The contract with the city authorized them to "immediately commence the manufacture. . .of earthenware pipes to one-third of the quantity advertised for a complete system of tubular drainage for the city of Quebec." If the initial quantity proved satisfactory, the balance was to follow. The demand on the contractors was not to exceed 500 feet per day and the specifications included reference to samples already furnished. Each proprietor was to have the right to obtain pipes for his private drain, of the same quality and at the same price (AJQ, Greffe de Chs. Defoy, no. 6596, 1 juin 1853).

58. In 1861, for example, the firm made a formal complaint against the city of Quebec and at this time the installation of the drainage pipe system was still in progress.

59. The contracts of employment were signed in Glasgow on July 18, 1853. Both Spence and Forman were engaged for three years as potters and pipemakers though Forman was also listed as burner or fireman (AJQ, Greffe de P.A. Shaw, nos. 82 and 83, 1 octobre 1853).

60. Elizabeth Collard, *Nineteenth Century Pottery and Porcelain in Canada* (Montreal, 1967). Mrs. Collard cites the Geological Survey of Canada published in 1854, where the Bells are named as manufacturers of "vessels for the use of the dairy and the garden" in addition to extensive brick-making (p. 334).

61. About July 1, 1854 they bought 250 tons of Scottish steam coals, delivered to the Inclined Plane Wharf rented by them three weeks earlier for the specific purpose of storing coal. *See* AJQ, Greffe de P.A. Shaw, no. 47, 6 juin 1854 and no. 59, 15 juillet 1854.

62. Census of Canada East, 1861, Co. of Quebec, Parish of St-Roch, 495. The amount of capital was given as £ 400. Average cost of wages was $240 per month to 20 employees.

63. List of goods for sale included Rockingham teapots and jugs, assorted chambers, yellow bowls, yellow mugs, butters and covers, soap boxes and salts and mustards. "Stone" teapots and jugs are given on the list but these were probably made from small amounts of fireclay imported. There is no evidence that the Bells made white earthenware at any time.

64. In the spring of 1863 Messrs. Lane, Gibb and Co. as agents advertised 5,000 boxes of tobacco pipes made by W. and D. Bell in assorted patterns. The pipe clay was imported, apparently from Britain. Robert Borland of Quebec, coal merchant, was one of the importers from whom the Bells purchased their pipe clay (AJQ, Greffe de W.D. Campbell, no. 3011, 16 octobre 1874).

65. AJQ, Greffe de W.N. Campbell, no. 5779, 28 janvier 1905. David Bell died on January 5, 1905. He served as mayor of Petite Rivière in 1890 (Boulanger & Marcotte, *Directory of Quebec City 1890-91*, p. 621). William Bell died on February 20, 1891 at the age of 72.

66. Geological Survey of Canada, Memoir 64, 67-68.

67. The southeast corner of the property, including the former site of the plant has been incorporated into the junction between the extended Hamel Boulevard and St-Valier Street–route 2C to Montreal. The rest of the property has been set aside to provide for extension of the St-Charles cemetery.

68. Joubert moved to Ancienne Lorette sometime between the baptism of his son, Louis Elzéar, in St-Roch on January 20, 1847 and the baptism of his son Joseph in Ancienne Lorette on August 26, 1850. The census of 1851 lists him as a potter in Ancienne Lorette.

69. *See* Census of Canada East, 1851, Parish of Ancienne Lorette, pp. 30 and 38.

70. Jean-Baptiste was born in Ancienne Lorette in 1827, the fourth son of Jacques Dion and Marie-Ann Cloutier. The Dion family of Les Saules trace their descent from Jacques Dion and Jeanne LeCointe who executed a marriage contract before Notary R. Becquet at Quebec on December 26, 1671. Jacques Dion's parents were then living in Rochelle and Jeanne's parents in Rouen. Jacques himself was stated to be living in the Seigneurie de St-Estienne on the river St-Charles. Jacques' son Pierre was married in Ancienne Lorette in 1705–he is mentioned in the 1716 census in the enumeration of Petite Rivière which then contained seven homes and 44 souls.

71. AJQ, Greffe de Jos. Laurin, no. 2999, 2 novembre 1853.

72. On September 23. *See* Registres de la Paroisse de l'Ancienne Lorette, 1856, mariage no. 12.

73. The boutique contained "Une cuve, une boîte, une chaudière, et un lot de plats et jarres de terre, prisé le tout à deux louis avec une moulange." Other listings included "La batisse en bois d'une boutique de potier, avec fourneau, cheminée, et un tour, prisée le tout à vingt-cinq louis courant"; et "Une cuite de jarres, de cruches, de bols, et de plats, encore dans le fourneau, prisée à quatre louis."

74. The second marriage was to Charlotte Robitaille, on September 25.

75. He bought the farm from the sheriff of Quebec. *See* AJQ, Greffe de Jos. Laurin, no. 4069, 2 août 1859. Silfrid's inher-

itance is noted in Bureau d'Enregistrement, comté de Québec, Reg. C., vol. 6, no. 4136.

76. *See* Boulanger and Marcotte, *L'Indicateur de Québec & Lévis, 1899-1900*, p. 85.

77. Birth given in genealogical records in possession of Henri Dion, Québec. Marriage on February 17, 1846 is listed in the parish registers for 1846 and the marriage contract in AJQ, Greffe de J. Laurin, no. 1876, 2 février 1846.

78. Census of Canada East, 1861, Co. of Quebec, Parish of Beauport, 56. Mr. Albert Dion of Quebec states that at this time Antoine was working on the machinery at the Richardson tanneries.

79. The building is mentioned for the first time in the autumn of 1865. *See* AJQ, Greffe de F.L. Gauvreau, no. 9126, 8 novembre 1865.

80. The land was a half arpent wide by 5 arpents in depth. *See* AJQ, Greffe de J. Laurin, no. 2971, 10 août 1853.

81. *Ibid.*, no. 5969, 23 avril 1869 refers to the building on his property as a "house" only, although Antoine's occupation is given as "potier."

82. *Ibid.*, nos. 7041 and 7044 of 8 and 9 mai 1875.

83. AJQ, Greffe d'Éd. Begin, no. 229, 5 septembre 1876.

84. There is a tradition in the Dion family that "an American by the name of Pope" came and gave Antoine some assistance. There are no references in the records so far examined to an American of that name but Philip Pointon of Cap-Rouge would have been a logical person from whom to seek advice. Cap-Rouge was only seven miles from Les Saules.

85. Antoine made over the whole of his original pottery, now known as lot 45, together with a part of the adjacent farm which he had purchased in 1875 and which was now known as lot 47 "avec la manufacture et autres bâtisses dessus construits, engins, tournants, et travaillants, outils et autres articles servant à la dite manufacture." The sale included the right, for 10 years, to take "terre glaise" for the manufacture from the other part of lot 47. This right could be exercised at all times of the year with the exception of the period from June 15 to August 1 (AJQ, Greffe de C. Tessier, no. 7847, 30 décembre 1889).

86. On August 5, 1891 Antoine Junior and Silfrid executed an Acte de Société to run for 10 years from the date they acquired the ownership of the manufacture. They were to conduct the manufacture under the name "Dion Frères." This association was to continue until December 30, 1899.

87. He was unable to sign the act of August 14, 1900 because of the weakness of his eyesight (Registry Office, Co. of Quebec, Reg. B, vol. 201, no. 105251). He died February 14, 1902 at the age of 76 (AJQ, Greffe de C. Tessier, no. 9669, 12 mai 1902).

88. April 23, 1913 (Registry Office, Co. of Quebec, Reg. B, vol. 264, no. 144060).

89. Registry Office, Co. of Quebec, Reg. B., vol. 273, no. 148337.

90. Antoine Junior died on July 29, 1915. The change of ownership is recorded in Registry Office, Co. of Quebec, Reg. B, vol. 285, no. 154699.

91. The sale is recorded in Registry Office, Co. of Quebec, Reg. B, vol. 289, no. 156005 and the introduction of electricity in Reg. B, vol. 304, no. 165508.

92. AJQ, Greffe d'E.G. Cannon, no. 2050, 12 septembre 1854. It was established at 6 St.John Street in the Upper Town, later moving to 83 St.Paul Street and then to 24 St. Paul Street in the Lower Town.

93. AJQ, Greffe d'A. Lemoine, no. 3749, 28 mai and no. 3764, 11 octobre 1867.

94. Goodwin died at the early age of 43 (Congregational Church, Quebec, Register, October 2, 1868).

95. AJQ, Greffe de C.H. Andrews, no. 1441, 9 février 1871.

96. McCaghey, Dolbec & Co. made a composition with their creditors on November 27, 1873 and on January 22, 1874 they made a voluntary assignment under the Insolvent Act of 1869. On July 13, 1874 all the assets of the firm were transferred to Thomas who had made an offer to the creditors which had been accepted (*ibid.*, nos. 1795 and 1894).

97. *Rapport Général du Commissaire de l'Agriculture, 1877*. Philadelphia Exposition.

98. Registry Office, Co. of Quebec, Reg. B., vol. 314, no. 169516. The fact that Thomas owned this pottery should not be taken as a suggestion that the well-known earthenware china which bears his name, showing views of Quebec, might have been made there. The pottery at Ste-Angèle was not equipped to do this sort of work, and a number of pieces of Thomas' earthenware are known which bear the inscription "B.P. Co. Ltd., Made in Scotland."

99. Registres de la Paroisse de l'Ancienne Lorette, 1854, mariage no. 23. Delisle's brick works was active until 1873 (*The Morning Chronicle* May 6, 1873).

100. The father of Jean Henry Howison was John Howison, boot and shoe maker of Quebec City, and his mother was Sophie Laberge also of Quebec City whose uncle was Abbé Joseph Laberge, curé of Ancienne Lorette. Sophie Howison seems to heve gone to live in Ancienne Lorette as a widow around 1850. Her daughter was buried there in 1854. In the census of 1871, Howison's mother seems to have been acting as housekeeper for her uncle the curé.

101. *See* the contract of marriage, October 29, 1854 (AJQ, Greffe de Jos. Laurin, no. 3171).

102. The partnership agreement was drawn up on December 28, 1857 (AJQ, Greffe de Jos. Petitclerc, no. 11611, 9 avril 1861), and on February 20, 1858 the new firm had taken storage space in one of the warehouses in the Lower Town of Quebec in a building known as "Heavens Buildings," taking office space also nearby. The period was for five years from May 1, 1858 (AJQ, Greffe de Wm. Bignell, no. 2360).

103. Naturally enough, at Ancienne Lorette Howison had business dealings with Dion's "moulin à pot." On August 2, 1859 Jean-Baptiste Dion signed an obligation to H. Howison & Co. for the sum of £75 for value received (AJQ, Greffe de Jos. Laurin, no. 4069) and in 1861, among receivables in the accounts of the partnership of John Pye in H. Howison & Co., is one of £86.10.11½ from Jean Dion of Lorette.

104. AJQ, Greffe de Jac. Auger, no. 388, 19 juin 1860. They made their property purchase in equal shares of one-third each. The lots are known as nos. 68 and 61 in the municipality of Cap-Rouge.

105. AJQ, Greffe de W.D. Campbell, no. 527, 25 juin 1860. Charles Baillairgé acted as architect.

106. Geological Survey of Canada, Memoir 64, *Preliminary Report*, 139.

107. The census of 1861 for the parish of St-Foye lists an E.P. Farrar, aged 24, a civil engineer born in the United States. He occupied rented quarters and was perhaps living at the hotel since his name is next to that of Wm. Scott, the hotelkeeper on Cap-Rouge hill.

108. For the firm of Howison, Pye and Chartré. Census of Canada East, 1861, Co. of Portneuf, Parish of St-Augustin, 235.

109. The three partners executed their deed of partnership on July 7, 1860, for 10 years from June 1, 1860 with £400 put in by each (AJQ, Greffe de W.D. Campbell, no. 535, 7 juillet 1860).

110. AJQ, Greffe de J. Petitclerc, nos. 11610 and 11611 of 9 avril 1861 gives accounts receivable.

111. AJQ, Greffe d'A. Campbell, no. 13,936, 30 juin 1860.

112. In April at Cap-Rouge Pye surrendered all his rights to Howison and Chartré, who undertook to reimburse Pye the sum of £525. In the dissolution of the partnership of Henry Howison & Co., it appears that Pye had subscribed over £1,389 to the firm and that the company had accounts receivable amounting to £1,283 (AJQ, Greffe de J. Petitclerc, nos. 11610 and 11611, 9 avril 1861). On November 7, 1861, Howison and Chartré acknowledged a total debt of £2,951 to Pye and pledged all their properties and assets. It was stipulated that at least $1,000 in insurance should be carried on the pottery building (*ibid.*, no. 11937, 7 novembre 1861).

113. The advertisement appeared in *Le Canadien* of August 22, *Le Journal de Québec* and *The Quebec Daily News* of August 23, 1862. The list included teapots, preserving pots and butter jars with covers, chamber pots, yellow bowls and plain and fancy water jugs.

114. On November 26, 1862 at the suit of the Bank of Montreal against the lands and tenements of Howison and Chartré, a writ was issued out of the Superior Court for the district of Quebec and the properties at Cap-Rouge were placed under seizure by the sheriff.

115. Pye's title to the land was confirmed by the court on March 5, 1863. The sale of the Cap-Rouge properties by the sheriff to Pye was made on March 31, 1863

and formally registered on August 24 in the Registry Office.

116. The sale was to include two throwers, three turners, one small thrower, one grog mill, and three jiggers (AJQ, Greffe de J. Petitclerc, no. 12908, 26 août 1863).

117. For example, in Mitchell's *Canada Classified Directory 1865-66*, 154.

118. Some of their produce on hand was apparently transferred to the crockery and earthenware firm of Henry Goodwin & Co. where an inventory on January 1, 1869 included three barrels of egg cups, eight barrels of salts and two barrels of mustards from L.P. Gauvreau.

119. *The Morning Chronicle*, May 1, 1869 carried an advertisement which makes no mention of Pye's plumbing business but refers to his establishment as a "coal oil depot" with china, glass and earthenware for sale. In this same advertisement, Pye announced that he intended to retire on May 1, 1870. Pointon is listed in Lovell's *Province of Quebec Directory for 1871* as "Philippe Rainton" (pp. 952-53).

120. AJQ, Greffe de H.C. Austin, no. 4750.

121. An agreement of partnership between Dalkin and Wilson on November 25, 1870 was to continue for five years from August 17, 1869 under the name E.J. Dalkin and C.W. Wilson (*ibid.*, no. 4979, 25 novembre 1870). But the firm was listed in the directories of the period under the name of E.J. Dalkin & Co. and Dalkin himself was evidently living in Cap-Rouge at this time.

122. On June 14 he formed a partnership with Henry S. Dalkin to transact the business of general commission and lumber merchants at the Paradise Cove on the north side of the river St-Charles below the Dorchester bridge. This partnership was also known as E.J. Dalkin & Co. (*ibid.*, no. 5388, 1872).

123. Ross acquired the pottery on July 12, 1873 (Greffe de John Strang, no. 846). On the same date he made an agreement of partnership for the operation of the pottery with Joseph Bell Forsyth, an associate in the lumber business at Cap-Rouge who was actually living there. The third partner was William Cream of Quebec, mentioned in Cherrier and Kirwin's *Quebec and Levis Directory of 1872-73* as agent for James Maclaren & Co., lumber merchants. The partnership was to operate for three years under the name "The Cap Rouge Pottery Company" with Cream actually managing the company's day-to-day affairs (AJQ, Greffe de John Strang, no. 849, 26 juillet 1873).

124. G.M. Fairchild states that the pottery was "long since torn down" (*Gleanings from Quebec*, 1908, p. 100).